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OP IMMED

DOS Review Completed

O 191737Z FEB 74
FM GENEVA

25X1

TO THE WHITE HOUSE

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

T O P S E C R E T/EYES ONLY 191640Z FEB 74

PRIORITY

25X1

FM: AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, SALDEL, GENEVA 017
TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT, THE WHITE HOUSE
EYES ONLY
DELIVER DURING OFFICE HOURS

1. IN RESPONSE TO HENRY'S REQUEST THERE IS GIVEN BELOW A DRAFT BY NITZE AND ME OF A POSSIBLE FIRST-PERSON MESSAGE TO BREZHNEV. THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS CORRESPONDS VERY CLOSELY TO OUR PRESENTATION HERE TODAY, EXCEPT THAT THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH INFERS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN AGGREGATE COVERING BOTH THE THROW-WEIGHT OF ICBM AND SLBM MIRVS. THIS SENTENCE COULD OF COURSE BE MODIFIED TO MAKE IT EXPLICIT THAT THIS IS THE CASE OR TO MAKE IT EXPLICIT THAT WE ARE ONLY TALKING ABOUT ICBMS.

2. IF IT IS DESIRED TO GO FURTHER--FOR EXAMPLE, TO PICK UP THE IDEA OF COUNTING ALL OF OUR MINUTEMEN SILOS AS MIRVED OR BEING WILLING TO DESTROY UNMIRVED MINUTEMEN SILOS, TRADE HEAVY BOMBERS FOR SOVIET MLBMS, ETC., THE DRAFT WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE TO BE MODIFIED ACCORDINGLY.

BEGIN DRAFT
QUOTE

I HOPE THAT YOU MAY SHARE MY CONVICTION THAT WHAT WE ARE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IN SALT DURING THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL DO MUCH TO DETERMINE THE DIRECTION THAT THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL TAKE FOR MANY YEARS INTO THE FUTURE. THEREFORE I AM NOW WRITING TO PASS ON TO YOU SOME OF MY OWN THOUGHTS ON THIS VITAL SUBJECT FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION PRIOR TO THE VISIT OF DR. KISSINGER. MY DELEGATION IN GENEVA WILL IN THE MEANWHILE ALSO BE EXPANDING ON SOME OF THESE CONCEPTS.

I AM WELL AWARE OF THE VIEWS THAT YOU REPRESENTATIVES HAVE PUT FORWARD BOTH HERE IN WASHINGTON AND IN GENEVA AND THE DIFFERENCES THAT APPEAR TO EXIST BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, I AM ALSO CONVINCED WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO FIND AN AREA OF AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES THAT COULD PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR THAT PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

HAK, SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, RODMAN

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***** T O P S E C R E T *****S C O P Y

TO WHICH WE COMMITTED OURSELVES BOTH IN MOSCOW IN MAY 1972 AND HERE IN WASHINGTON LAST JUNE.

I AM SURE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT FOR A PERMANENT AGREEMENT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT I BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT FOR THE UNITED STATES IT HAS BOTH THE REALITY AND APPEARANCE OF EQUALITY WITH NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. I, OF COURSE, ACCEPT THAT YOU HAVE THE SAME REQUIREMENT. THE PROBLEM IS HOW THIS IS TO BE ACHIEVED. FROM MY STANDPOINT THIS MEANS THAT WITH THE IMPRESSIVE ADVANCES THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE COURSE OF MAKING IN THE CAPABILITIES AND TECHNOLOGY OF ITS MISSILES IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR ME TO ACCEPT FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE OF A PERMANENT AGREEMENT THOSE NUMERICAL ASSYMETRIES OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. I THUS VERY MUCH FEEL THAT WE SHOULD ACCEPT THE GOAL OF ACHIEVING IN THE NEAR FUTURE OF AN EQUAL OVERALL LIMIT ON THE NUMBER OF ICBMS, SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS. I AM PREPARED TO ACCEPT A NUMBER THAT COULD BE REACHED BY BOTH OF US WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN OUR PRESENT DEPLOYMENTS. HOWEVER, I DO NOT THINK THAT WE SHOULD BE CONTENT WITH PRESERVING NUMBERS AROUND OUR PRESENT LEVELS, BUT AM CONVINCED THAT OUR PEOPLES AND THE WORLD WOULD WELCOME OUR AGREEING ON SPECIFIC REDUCTIONS IN THOSE NUMBERS IN A PHASED WAY OVER A PERIOD OF TIME.

BEYOND NUMBERS OF ICBMS, SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS, IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE REAL EQUALITY WITHOUT UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE WE MUST DEAL WITH THE QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF MISSILES--THAT IS, THEIR DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITIES. THIS LEADS US INTO THE QUESTION OF THE THROW-WEIGHT OF MISSILES, THAT IS THE USEFUL CAPABILITY OF MISSILE BOOSTERS AND THUS THEIR DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL. IT ALSO LEADS US INTO THE QUESTION OF MULTIPLE REENTRY VEHICLES AND THE ABILITY OF LARGE MISSILES WITH A HIGH THROW-WEIGHT TO CARRY A NUMBER OF WARHEADS OF LARGE YIELD. THIS IS OF SPECIAL CONCERN WITH RESPECT TO ICBMS. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE MOST FEASIBLE WAY TO GET AT THIS QUESTION IS THROUGH EQUALITY IN THE AGGREGATE THROW-WEIGHT OF MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES. I FULL WELL REALIZE THAT THESE MATTERS INVOLVE MANY TECHNICAL QUESTIONS AS WELL AS THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION FOR BOTH SIDES. I AM HAVING MY EXPERTS CAREFULLY EXAMINE ALL ASPECTS OF THESE QUESTIONS AND EXPECT THAT YOU MAY WANT TO DO THE SAME IN ORDER THAT DR. KISSINGER'S DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW NEXT MONTH MAY BE AS FRUITFUL AS POSSIBLE. MY HOPE IS THAT IN THIS WAY YOU AND I WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON A FRAMEWORK WHICH WILL ENABLE OUR NEGOTIATORS TO COMPLETE THE TEXT OF A PERMANENT AGREEMENT THIS YEAR. UNQUOTE END DRAFT.

3. REGARDS. JOHNSON.
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